# We were fish in the pool but now we are in a river

## Çöpler Village, a Case of Displacement in Turkey



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**Abstract**

Several studies have shown that development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) poses risks of impoverishment to both ecological and societal sustainability. Loss of homes, productive lands, income-earning assets, resources, social structures and cultural identity are some of the risks that occur as a result of displacement. This is the first study analysing a displaced community in Turkey by applying ethnographic research methods from a human ecology perspective. Primarily, it examines the experiences of transformation from a village community that used to sustain itself within a mountainous landscape to a community making a living by widely contributing to the landscape's exploitation. The aim is to contribute to the study of displacees by introducing a Turkish case as well as to construct a framework that underlines some displacee experiences connected to the changing landscape, which is underemphasized in DIDR literature. Departing from the question of 'what happens to a community when it has to leave a landscape where people had been dwelling for generations', I analyse the experiences of displacement together with the changes displacement has brought to Çöpler Village. During my ethnographic fieldwork, I identified (1) the ambivalence of cultural identity, (2) the disintegration of neighbourly relations, and (3) the boredom of women as the three main areas of concern that are experienced in relation to changes in the landscape and changes in the way the landscape is experienced by the villagers. Replacing the prevailing sources of livelihood and cultural practices with a new lifestyle has rendered the villagers vulnerable in terms of sustaining their culture. This new lifestyle and emerging job opportunities led to conflicts in self-interests, whilst increasing material wealth has altered the understanding of morality and in turn disintegrated neighbourly relations. The experience of ambivalence in cultural identity and lost neighbourly relations led the women to experience a profound boredom.

**Keywords:** development induced displacement and resettlement, landscape, experiences, neighbourly relations, cultural identity, boredom, Turkey

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## List of Abbreviations

**ADB:**          Asian Development Bank

**AMC:**         Anagold Mining Company

**AMDL:**      Anatolia Minerals Development Limited

**DIDR:**       Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement

**PDG:**         Planned Discussion Groups

**WB:**          World Bank

## Glossary

**Cacim:** a kind of rug woven of sheep wool (Picture 2). It is used as tapestry not only for decoration purposes, but also for preventing the cold from penetrating the house.



**Picture 2: C*acim*. Photograph by a Çöpler villager, circa 2009.**

**Kahvehane:** a coffeehouse of which the customers are usually only men. Turkish tea, Turkish coffee and other alcohol free beverages are sold as well as hookah. It serves a as centre of social interaction where the men congregate to play card games and backgammon, talk and pass the time (Picture 3).



**Picture 3: K*ahvehane* in İliç town. Photograph by the author, 2014.**

**Kerme:** a kind of dried dung obtained through ovine's smashing their faeces spontaneously. It is used for heating purposes and as fertilizer.

**Kom:** a barn where only ovine is kept during the winter in the East and Southeast Anatolian region.

**Muhtar:** an elected local authority and head of the village in Turkey. *Muhtars* are elected during local elections every five years.

**Saç kavurması:** braised lamb meat cubes browned in its own fat in a domed round iron plate.

**Şalvar:** baggy, pyjama-like trousers and traditional dress of South and Central Asia and used in most of the villages in Turkey. Its style differs across the regions and ethnic communities in Turkey.

**Sarma:** a small dumpling of rice and other ingredients wrapped in a leaf of grape or cabbage.

**Tandır bread:** a kind of barbecue, a mud-coated pit for cooking meat and village bread in it. The mud on it is made of a mixture of hay, goat hair, egg, and clay and left in the sun to dry. Then it is placed in the pit and wood or wood coal is used to heat it. The bread dough is stuck on this mud and *tandır* bread is baked (Picture 4).


**Picture 4:** *Tandır* **bread being baked. Photograph by the author, 2014.**


**Picture 5: Dried** *tarhana***. Photograph by the author, 2014.**

**Tarhana:** a traditional Turkish cereal food consisting of flour, yoghurt, and vegetables fermented then dried. It is consumed as a soup by mixing it with stock or water and believed to have curing effects for many illnesses (Picture 5).

**Tuluk:** an animal skin that is used as a butter churn to produce butter manually (Picture 6).

**Tulum cheese:** a general name of cheese that is fermented in animal skin. Tulum cheese made in Konya, Bingöl, Erzincan, Elazığ, Tunceli and Erzurum is called Erzincan tulum cheese or Şavak cheese and is chiefly made of sheep milk.


**Picture 6:** *Tuluk***. Photograph by a Çöpler villager, circa 2000.**

## 1. Introduction

*"We have gathered corpses' fingers! Some were still in their grave clothes, some were not. I saw my father's autopsy thread still hanged on his teeth... We dug the cemeteries by ourselves! No one accepts this new village; no one wants to be buried in this new cemetery."*

I could never have perceived the unbearable weight of what it means for someone to witness their home and life being razed until I met this old woman. Her tearful eyes expressed her resurfaced feelings of grief and the loss of her sense of attachment to her ancestors when the cemeteries in her village were excavated in order to rebury the dead in a new place. During this episode, unidentifiable human bones intermingled, belonging to people who had lived there before. Is it possible for someone to take everything along when being displaced? What happens to a community when it has to leave a landscape where people had been dwelling for generations?

In Turkey, Çöpler villagers have been experiencing a remarkable story of displacement since 2001 when the idea of displacing the villagers was brought to the agenda by the officials of Anagold Mining Company. Their displacement was officially completed on the 31st of December 2011, yet it continues to be experienced as an ongoing process.

For some, this was a motive to abandon the village completely after having lived alongside drilling activities in the village over the last ten years. For others, the beginning of drilling activities did not provide them with a choice – to decide whether to welcome or disapprove of these new mining activities and anticipate an onset of change in their lives through espousing a new life-world.[1] For most women, the possibility of new houses promised more comfort;[2] for the young, the appeal of having a regular income by working certain hours instead of devoting a whole day to stockbreeding proved rewarding; and most villagers were tempted by the compensations offered by the company. The villagers expected to improve their material and economic conditions (better infrastructure for the new village, luxurious houses, decent and regular income, and so on) without losing their culturally significant symbols and practices (landscape, traditional livelihood practices, neighbouring, cultural identity, and so

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[1] I use the term with reference to Husserl: "the only real world, […] that is actually given through perception" (Husserl 1970, 49).
[2] It is noteworthy to mention that it was the women who especially had desired new houses before being displaced. However, it was again the women who mostly complained and were disappointed about the displacement.

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on) at the same time. However, they have not found what they expected in their new village, in their words they were not satisfied with 'what was promised to them by the company' and they felt they had lost their non-material assets at the expense of material gains.

As a result of their own choice, and in order to mitigate the inherent risk of impoverishment in displacement, these people were resettled in an area very close to their old village. The company offered resettlement and compensation of properties and the villagers' life standards have increased materially. Nevertheless, displacement caused the villagers to experience ambivalence in their cultural identity, disintegration of neighbourly relations, boredom, transformation of household relations, disruptions in the local power structure and the prevailing social stratification, as well as conflicts in intergenerational relations.

According to Abuya (2013, 3), "[c]ompensation programs that do not take into cognizance a community's perception of compensable assets run the risk of not meeting the desired objective, as the community may consider the compensation paid as unfair". On the other hand, the relationship between the perception arising from expectations and the ensuing satisfaction/disappointment is fragile. High and unrealistic expectations, expectations proportionate to bargaining power and subsequently developed perceptions, and relations are dynamic and fluid.[3] Therefore, the compensation offered by the company did little to appease the current discontent felt by the villagers who had been dwelling in a mountainous landscape in which they were socially and ecologically embedded, and to which they had assigned meanings through recognizing its intrinsic values. Losing the landscape that conveyed such meanings for the villagers has rendered them vulnerable both as individuals and social groups to external stresses and emerging contradictions in their new village (Kelly and Adger 2000). Mining operations followed by displacement caused a change both in the landscape and in the way the villagers experience that landscape. Correspondingly, these changes have yielded experiences of ambivalence in cultural identity, disintegration of neighbourly relations, and boredom among the women in the Çöpler community.

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[3] During my fieldwork, the villagers, particularly Şavak tribe, expressed that they have always been humiliated by the state. Seeing themselves as a disadvantaged group stemming from this humiliation can be a crucial factor in building expectations.

**1.1 Aim and Research Question**

This is the first study analysing a displaced community in Turkey by applying ethnographic research methods from a human ecology perspective. Primarily, it examines the experiences of transformation from a village community that used to sustain itself within a mountainous landscape to a community making a living by widely contributing to the landscape's exploitation. The study moves beyond evaluation of the company's compensation plan towards an appreciation of the lived experience of displacement.

The aim is to contribute to the study of displacees[4] by introducing a Turkish case as well as to construct a framework that underlines some displacee experiences connected to changing landscape, which DIDR literature underemphasized. This study can further academic understanding of displacement and will hopefully be utilized by policy-makers, politicians and potential displacees in the future.

Departing from the question of 'what happens to a community when it has to leave a landscape where people had been dwelling for generations' I primarily analyse the experiences of displacement with the changes displacement has brought along to Çöpler Village. During my ethnographic fieldwork, I have identified (1) the ambivalence of cultural identity, (2) the disintegration of neighbourly relations, and (3) the boredom of women as the three main areas of concern that are experienced in relation to changes in the landscape and changes in the way the landscape is experienced by the villagers. Replacing the prevailing sources of livelihood and cultural practices with a new lifestyle has rendered the villagers vulnerable in terms of sustaining their culture. This new lifestyle and emerging job opportunities led to conflicts in self-interests, whilst increasing material wealth has altered the understanding of morality and in turn disintegrated neighbourly relations. The experience of ambivalence in cultural identity and lost neighbourly relations led the women to experience a profound boredom.

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[4] The term refers to and includes any person, family, community or group of people who is being forced to move from home or homeland; displaced person.

## 2. Background: The Story of Çöpler People

**2.1 The Old Village**

Çöpler Village, located in the east part of central Anatolia, is approximately 550 km east of Ankara and 120 km southwest of Erzincan city, besides previously being roughly 9 km far İliç town from where it is governed (Picture 7).
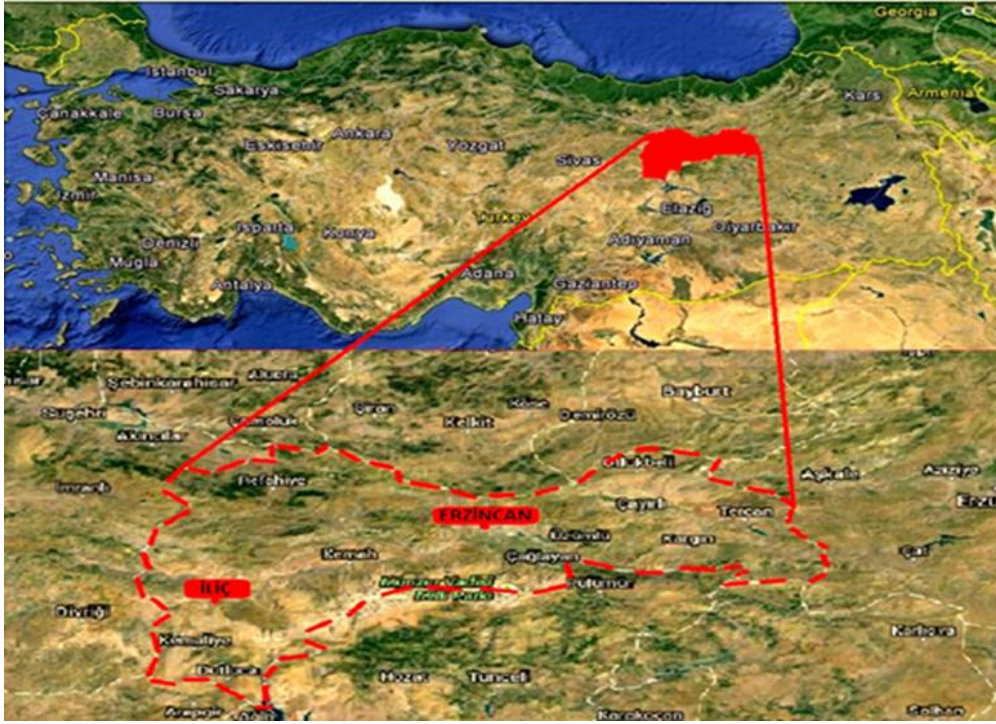


**Picture 7: The location of Erzincan city. Map modified by the author, 2014**

The old village was surrounded by the Munzur Mountains with oak forests and upland pastures on three sides and is rumoured to have been founded in the late Ottoman times. It shares borders with other villages - Sabırlı, Bağıştaş and Dostal. The village is said to have been a shelter for abundant vineyards and so got its name from the abundance of grape wastes in autumn, Çöpler in Turkish.

The region of Erzincan had hosted an Armenian population until 1916-17 when Armenians were forced to leave their villages and relocated in other parts of Ottoman territory. This led to the proliferation of Turkish population in these evacuated villages (Kemali 1992; Mıntzuri[5] 2008; Gündüz et al. 2011). In parallel with the presence of historical ruins of an Armenian church two kilometres away from the settlement (Öner et al. 2001, 222), the village is said to

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[5] Hagop Mıntzuri (1886-1978; Hagop Demirciyan) is an Armenian author who was born in Erzincan in Armıdan Village in İliç.

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have witnessed to Armenian history as well. In the 1960s, the construction of the Keban Dam on the Fırat River led to the displacement of some villagers in the neighbouring city Tunceli. Communities of the Şavak tribe living in the villages of Nısırto and Titenik in Pertek town were evacuated from their land were deliberately resettled in the Çöpler and Sabırlı villages[6] in Erzincan, around Munzur Mountains the tribe used for transhumance[7] during summer.[8] They gradually proliferated in population, married the locals and became the majority in the village.



Picture 8: The old village. Photograph by a Çöpler villager, circa 2000

In 2010, the village consisted of forty-five houses, which were 70 m2 on average, with extended families of 231 people living in handmade and duplex houses (Pictures 8 and 9). While the first floors were made of stone walls and used as barns to keep cattle, the second floors were made of mud-bricks and metal plates where the families lived. Heating was provided by stoves, which also served the purpose of cooking for guests and boiling milk for producing home-made butter, yoghurt and cheese. The stove was only heated with *kerme* and oak firewood.

Livelihood sources were predominantly sheep or goat breeding and transhumance. Every family owned 300 sheep on average. Shepherding, beekeeping, poultry raising, *tulum* cheese mongering and daily jobs were other ways of livelihood in the village. In addition, plentiful orchards, small gardens in front of the houses, and large fields cultivated to produce wheat,

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[6] Although Çöpler and Sabırlı villages are kin villages, they have become rival groups after the arrival of the minıng project; especially after Çöpler villagers are decided to be resettled to newly built houses by the company.

[7] The term refers to seasonal migration of livestock and the people between lowlands and mountains.

[8] It is important to note that the tribe never complained about their first displacement although they got resettled to another city; whereas, in their second displacement they were resettled within the same boundaries of their village. However, they consider displacement as their destiny.

various legumes and common vetch, provided villagers and their animals with essential seasonal food. As one of the old women noted, "Formerly, we used to earn our bread by the sweat of our brow. We, indeed, didn't need that much money; we produced everything needed by ourselves. Sometimes we used to barter with each other or neighbour villages." Another elderly interviewee said, "I used to produce my own potatoes, onions, beans, bread, bulgur, *tarhana*, milk, meat, eggs. I remember… my wife used to make handmade socks for me. We even produced our own clothes out of sheep wool." As indicated, Çöpler people, as pastoralists, had a self-sufficient life; highly embedded in the landscape they dwelled in.



**Picture 9: A house in the old village. Photograph by a Çöpler villager, circa 2000**

## 2.2 Şavak Tribe

Şavak is a semi-settled tribe prevalently living around the cities of Tunceli (Çemişgezek and Pertek towns) and Erzincan (Özdemir 2013, 268), and famous for producing Erzincan tulum cheese through transhumance. The tribe is believed to have originated as a Turcoman community that later became Kurdified (Kutlu 1987; Özdemir 2013; Tosun and Koç 2011). This idea of being Turcoman is consubstantiated with being a Turk (Gültekin 2013, 142) instead of being Kurd, although the tribe adopts the Şıkaki dialect of Kurmanji Kurdish as their mother language and speaks Turkish at the same time.

The tribe spends the winter in the village and keeps ovine in kom. Around mid-May, when the meadows become green, they shoulder their hand-made tents woven of goat hair and take their ovine to the upland pastures in the Munzur Mountains (Picture 10). The name

Şavak/Şafak, which means dawn in Turkish, is an analogy to their habit of leaving their villages at dawn for upland grazing meadows. They use vehicles as far as they can, then they use mounts for the rest of the way until reaching the uplands (Durmuş 2010, 89).



**Picture 10: A scene from transhumance. Photograph by a Çöpler villager, circa 2003**

They settle around the streams of natural springs, stay approximately five months in the uplands, and primarily take care of their animals as well as milking, producing butter and cheese, shearing sheep, and grazing them. Butter and *tulum* cheese produced during this time are bought by local merchants and marketed to the rest of the country (Durmuş and Çağlıyan 2009, 101). Apart from their individual needs, the money earned from this activity is spent largely on the animals, purchasing winter food to satisfy the needs that cannot be met through grazing during the winter season. Due to this semi-settled pastoral life style, the tribe only cultivates the land for their subsistence and to produce common vetch to feed their animals.

### 2.3 The Anagold Mining Project

Anagold Mining Company was established by a US-Canadian partner corporation named Anatolia Minerals Development Limited in 2000 and began to operate in Çöpler Gold Mine under the name of Çukurdere Mining as its sub-company in Turkey.

In 2009, Lidya Mining, established by Çalık Holding, a company directed by the political elites of the current government, received 20 % shares in the company and became a partner

of AMC. On February 18, 2011, AMDL and Avoca Resources Limited, as the Australian gold producer company, established a joint project called Alacer Gold Corporation (Madencilik Türkiye 2011). AMC is currently executing its operations in the Çöpler mine site as a joint foundation of Alacer Gold Company (80%) and Lidya Mining (20%) (Alacer Gold 2014). This open-cast mining (Picture 11), produces annually 6.5 tons of gold on average, which comprises 20% of gold production in Turkey and has contributed 750 million USD to the countries' economy over the last ten years. (Sözcü 2014).

The company managers estimate that another 10-12 years remain for the mining operations in Çöpler site, according to identified reserves. Yet, there is an upcoming project for the prolongation of mining activities and the enlargement of the site if funding is provided. In this case, the company officials



**Picture 11: The Çöpler Gold Mine. Photograph by a Çöpler villager, circa 2009**

expect mining to be a long-term source of income, primarily for Çöpler villagers as well as other workers. They expect to build up sufficient background and experience for the continued employment of their workers, of which 90% are blue-collar workers from the local region and 10% are white-collar experts mostly from outside of the region. According to company officials, the blue-collar workers are expected to build adequate capacity to be potential employees in other mining companies across the country after this project ends.

Çöpler Village is the area directly affected by the activities of the mine (Pictures 12 and 13). The second degree area of impact involves villages of Sabırlı, Bağıştaş and Dostal. Finally, İliç town is in the third degree area of impact of the mining. Following this, Anagold gave the priority in recruitment to Çöpler villagers.

**Picture 12: Location of Çöpler Gold Mine and the areas affected by the mining operations. Map modified by the author, 2014**



**Picture 13: The old village after being exposed to mining operations. Photograph by a Çöpler villager, circa 2010**

On July 4, 2010, the company launched the construction of the new village for the Çöpler people. The construction of 33 duplex houses, being 137 m2, was completed on September 25, 2011 as well as one primary school, one muhtar office, and one multithreading business office. Three privately-owned tandır houses were replaced by the three communally-owned ones in the new village. Resettlement was finalized on December 31, 2011. Through individual mutual agreements, villagers sold 63 tracts of land to the company. The lands belonging to legal personalities of the village were exchanged with the new ones in the new setting. The company provided fifteen additional lands to the new setting for those who would like to build houses in future.

## 2.4 The New Village

The new village is located less than 1 kilometre below the mine and 3 kilometres away from the town. Furthermore, it is located within the official boundaries of the old village, primarily on the previously arable fields.[9] It is placed in the middle of construction projects, with a dam construction at the bottom, railway construction on the right side and highway construction on the left side, evoking a feeling of "semi-open prison" especially according to the women in the village.[10]



**Picture 14: An outlook from the new village. Photograph by the author, 2014**

There are 35 houses (Picture 14) in the village of which two were built later on the additional lands provided by the company. The population living in the village is 259 including the tenants, i.e. "strangers" according to villagers, who have moved from the outside cities to work in the mine. The first floors of these duplex houses do not serve as shelter for cattle anymore (Picture 15). Instead, the extended family has split into two floors, which means that

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[9] There was another place that the villagers could be resettled, which was in the official boundaries of İliç town and was perceived as more promising for sustaining the traditional lifestyle by the villagers, particularly by the women. However, the villagers did not prefer this place because the village would be connected to the İliç town in terms of governance and the economic contributions that the mining company is providing to the village would go to İliç municipality. This would lead the villagers to be patronized by the state and to lose their bargaining power against the mining company to obtain benefits as compensation of the displacement.

[10] According to the villagers, they were not informed about the fact that the constructions were going to start surrounding their new village while choosing a place for their resettlement. When they were informed, they were told that it was too late to change the place. The officials from the mining company also said that they were not informed about the constructions.

nuclear families proliferated.[11] The heating is provided by coal through radiators rather than stoves.

As the mayor Sedat Ateş and district governor of İliç town Ramazan Buran as well as the company officials and the villagers agree, the possibility of stockbreeding, beekeeping, and pastoralism has ended due to the destruction of grazing lands having become destroyed by various constructions surrounding the village. Therefore, the villagers buy most of their food from the market or other villages, except for some who keep few cattle in their backyards and produce home-made dairy products.



**Picture 15: A house in the new village. Photograph by the author, 2014**

The main sources of livelihood are working in the mine as a technician, laboratory assistant, bus driver for the transportation of the company personnel, cook or labourer. Besides that, the mining company encouraged villagers to establish sub-supplier companies to create a new source of income for those who lost the possibility of maintaining their customary livelihood. Likewise, with the compensation money they received from the mining, the villagers purchased apartments in İliç town, Erzincan or Sivas so that they earn rent allowance as well.

The sub-supplier company Çöpler A.Ş. was founded in 2008. Due to disagreements that emerged among villagers, the company split into five companies named Çöpler A.Ş., Keklik İnşaat, Ağa Keklik, Asil Çöpler, and CMC Çöpler. Since then, there have been five sub-supplier companies which were established by the men in the village and have recruited primarily Çöpler villagers; and some Sabırlı villagers have shares as well. These companies do not only work for the mining company, but some of them also work for dam construction.

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[11] Prevailingly, the bride lives with the family of her husband, under the rule of mother-in-law. However, these relatively larger new houses provided the bride have her own privacy through settling in a separate floor, usually the first floor. This is perceived as one of the positive sides of this displacement by the young women.

They rent out construction machines and buses bought by bank loans, and catering services to the main companies. It is the men approximately under age 60 who work for the mining company either directly or through sub-supplier companies. No women from the village work for the mine.

In the new village, as mentioned earlier, the expectations of the villagers are not met from their point of view. However, it is important to recognize that displacement had also positive contributions in addition to its drawbacks. For instance, most of the villagers complained about losing the possibility of stockbreeding but some of the young people admit that it was a hard task and perceive regular income as a positive contribution. The women complain about boredom and the lack of common areas in the village; however, they are highly satisfied with the houses in terms of room numbers and privacy. Therefore, contradictory explanations should be considered in order not to limit the focus on displacement always to its negative consequences.

### 3. Methodology: Fieldwork and Research Material

The fieldwork took place primarily in Çöpler Village from mid-February 2014 through the end of March 2014. Throughout this time, I conducted semi-structured interviews, oral history interviews and planned discussion groups with the Çöpler villagers, several unstructured interviews with the neighbouring village of Sabırlı, and one interview with the officials in public relations department in the Anagold Mining Company and used participant observation. I also conducted informal ad hoc interviews with the artisans in the town of İliç and the *muhtars* of the two other neighbouring villages Bağıştaş and Dostal that are currently impacted by the company's activities and formal interviews with the mayor and the district governor of İliç town, to obtain a general impression about the displacement and the company. This facilitated my gaining understanding of the bigger picture of the story. I designated this method considering how it locates the researcher in the context of whatever is being studied.

The methodology of the study relies on fieldwork for generating nuanced data on social interactions and making observations in the natural setting (Burgess 2006, 65). Lack of secondary data on the topic, except for a few media articles, led me to rely on primary data. Accordingly, ethnographic research methods were adopted. Since I studied displacement experiences of a particular community, this method was convenient to immerse myself in the

field and to get a sense of what has happened to these people. Through this, I got a chance to capture a "thick description" of contingencies that a wink can be distinguished from a twitch, different from a camera (Geertz 1973, 6) that enabled me to locate my observations in the context.

### 3.1 Participant Observation

During my fieldwork, I lived with a family in the village and had a chance to experience everyday life. Therefore, I was in a constant state of observation and participation. Predominantly, this enabled me to provide a descriptive context in setting the scene for readers and to complement other methods I employed during the fieldwork (Gray 2003, 82). Moreover, it enabled me to reveal the unspoken characteristics peculiar to the daily life and culture of the community.



Picture 16: The author (third from the left) and the village women making tandır bread. Photograph by the author, 2014

I preferred to follow the approach of participant-as-observer instead of being a complete observer because it makes no secret of the investigation and the researcher proclaims that research is the overriding interest. Hence, "the participant-as-observer is not tied down, he is free to run around as research interests beckon" (Roy 1970, 217). During the time I lived in the village, I tried to participate in ongoing daily activities of the villagers, such as gardening, assisting with farming, doing household chores, making *tandır* bread, visiting neighbours and spontaneous meetings/discussions of the villagers, which were mostly carried out by women (Pictures 16 and 17). I also went to İliç town with the men and spent my evening times at family gatherings in different households to understand and observe men



Picture 17: The author, helping to produce butter. Photograph by a women of the village, 2014

in the village since men were not present in the village during the day. Consequently, through the flexibility of this approach and being accepted by the community, I had the advantage of infiltrating many social situations; for instance, I even attended a local engagement ceremony, to achieve an understanding of life in the village.



**Picture 18: The author in the village with headscarf and şalvar. Photograph by a woman of the village, 2014**

Since it is a kin-tied community that I lived with, through fading into the background, I aimed to make people feel as if there were no outsider present and have them confide in me as freely as anyone else in the community (Dentan 1970 in Ellen 1995, 102). This brought along some visible and invisible changes within myself. While I switched from wearing pants to *şalvar*, began using headscarf (Picture 18) and acted according to local customs when together with men,[12] I also undertook several roles such as being a sister, a friend, a daughter and sometimes even a native. On the other hand, not understanding Kurdish was a disadvantage for me, which limited my level of observation in initial stages. Over time, as me and the participants got accustomed to each other, they began to speak Turkish rather than Kurdish.

Being as close as possible to the community posed a risk of going native due to over rapport and joys of participation in a village life for the first time in my life (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 87). In order not to lose my focus in the fieldwork, I used a field diary to not only record observational notes (O'Reilly 2005, 100) and integrate my own thinking analytically (Malinowski 1967, 175) but also "to keep a grip on my sanity" and to allow myself to communicate with myself (Jackson 1993, 11). Therefore, I could reflect upon my emotional state, particularly about being an adoptive daughter of the family hosting me.

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[12] The women and the men prevailingly live a secluded life in the village; the life in the village does not mix them much.

**3.2 Interviews**

This technique was used to uncover narratives about the old village and its landscape, people's previous lives, the current conditions and how such meanings relate to social displacement and mining (see Appendix). The interviews I conducted spanned the time I spent in the field. I conducted 37 semi-structured and seven oral history interviews with the elderly in Çöpler Village. Each interview lasted between forty minutes to two hours and was conducted in Turkish which is my mother tongue. Therefore, I am aware of potential meaning losses that could arise when translated to English. All of the interviews were semi-structured and consisted of open-ended questions, as I desired to give my respondents the contentment of having a conversation and a chance to determine the direction of the interview so that we could be the initiators of information together (Fife 2005, 94-5). Conducting interviews in the homes of the interviewees was also a part of this strategy. By this strategy, I aimed to eliminate the researcher/researched hierarchy which leads to "hierarchical and positivist orderings of what can count as knowledge" (Haraway 1988, 580).

My sample selection criterion was ambiguous when I first arrived to the field. Therefore, during my first day I got acquainted with most of the people, introduced myself and the purpose of my presence, and got an idea about whom to interview first. I used my first interview as a pilot interview to test if the questions worked properly. Then, I relied on snowball and convenience sampling techniques as my interviewees guided me towards other people who would like to be interviewed. I kept adjusting the questions according to who I was interviewing so that possible threads and irrelevant parts would be omitted while keeping my flexibility, reflexivity and awareness (O'Reilly 2005, 116).

Furthermore, I was mindful of equal distribution of interviews according to age and gender to better represent the community. Since women were the most accessible considering their presence in the village, I could interview them during the day, whereas I could usually only interview men in the evenings. Thus, I hardly achieved equal numbers of interviews across genders.

I interviewed Sabırlı people and officers in the mining company consciously through the end of my fieldwork since the topics I wanted to discuss with them had crystallized in my mind after I got an understanding of Çöpler people. I had three group interviews with the Sabırlı villagers. These interviews were unstructured and conducted to comprehend the changes that

Çöpler villagers are experiencing in Sabırlı people's perception. I found this vital since Çöpler is a kin village to Sabırlı and Çöpler people were living conditions similar to the Sabırlı people before displacement. Thus, these interviews were fruitful both to see what Çöpler Village was like before displacement and to hear details about changes in social life that I did not have chance to observe and was not told during my interaction with Çöpler people. I also interviewed officials in the mining company to understand the procedures of displacement, their ideas about it, and their future plans for the villagers after the mining activities cease.

During all the interviews, I used probing to complete the stories from the subjects (Berg 2001, 76) which yielded to a better conception of the context. The approaches I used differed according to whom I interviewed. While I had a formal approach to officials, I adopted an informal approach for accessing the people (O'Reilly 2005, 124-6).

### 3.3 Planned Discussion Groups



**Picture 19: PDG with the women. Fourth from the right is the author. Photograph by a woman of the village, 2014**

I planned discussion groups to cognize how Çöpler community and Şavak tribe, in particular, construct their cultural identity and form ideas about their old and new villages in interaction. I preferred PDG rather than focus groups since it generates many responses at once and creates a less formal atmosphere to learn more about a culture. In PDG, the researcher can include any number of participants depending on the situation; participants are gathered naturally due to everyone already being part of the context of the ethnographic research; less level of control of the researcher gives the chance to observe spontaneous discussions and discussion is organized in a setting that participants are familiar with (O'Reilly 2005, 135). Therefore, PDG gave me the opportunity to conduct a kind of semi-structured participant observation in which I could reduce the power imbalance between myself and participants "through the promotion of egalitarian relationships, grounded in reciprocity and a sense of mutuality" (Hewitt 2007, 1155).

I conducted four discussion groups (Pictures 19 and 20), with five young men, six young women, six old men and eight old women to catch possible patterns or differences across age and gender categories in Çöpler Village. The selection strategy and numbers of the participants in each group were based on presence of the participants in the village and their consent at those moments. The groups were homogenous in some ways (age and gender) and heterogeneous in other ways (ethnicity, social status and background). I decided to have these meetings towards the end of my stay so that I could better utilize the discussions after having a more comprehensive understanding of the community. All the meeting places were chosen by the participants and took place in different houses considered as convenient by them.

The discussions with the young predominantly hinged on their perception of village, if their old and new villages fit into this perception, their (dis)contentment with their displacement, a comparison of the landscape and their life/identity within this landscape in their old and new village. I also collected information about whether they have benefited from the mining activities and about the



Picture 20: PDG with the men. Photograph by a man of the village, 2014

changes they observe in their culture. Besides these topics, the discussions with the elderly focused on the Şavak identity. Since the village had long lived with ongoing mining activities, displacement was a process for them and changes began to be experienced long before they were formally displaced. Therefore, it was the elderly who could tell more about the Şavak life before the mine.

A noteworthy point that I need to mention is that I got opposite responses to some interview questions; for instance about changes in neighbourly relations, from the same people in some discussion groups. While these discussion groups are productive for the interactive creation of knowledge, it can bring a disadvantage of affecting participants' behaviour within a group

context. However, having these group discussions towards the end of the research after generating individual interview data opened up an occasion to observe and realize the sensitivity of some issues.

## 3.4 Additional Material

During my fieldwork, I obtained additional datasets that were not planned in advance. Some of them were formed by the participants and others were collected by me.

I collected pictures and a video of the old village from the villagers to supplement the ones I took in the new village. Some pictures include the landscape before and after mining activities got started and show the physical changes during the process of displacement. Others consist of shots from their life when they were doing transhumance. The video shows how one day was spent in the old village including almost all people, houses, landscape and stockbreeding. In this context, as a researcher who is studying a specific community, I find these as notable forms of visual data since they are documenting people's relationship to their landscape and various aspects of their culture (Murchison 2010, 47).



**Picture 21: Opportunistic group discussion with the women while having a random lunchtime gathering. Photograph by the author, 2014**

Another data set grew out of naturally occurring groups during the field. I could turn these groups into opportunistic group discussions through steering the discussions around my topic to fit my research purpose (O'Reilly 2005, 131). This usually happened right after interviews when others turned up or when we were sitting with women during the day time; i.e., during my participant observation (Picture 21).

Finally, I gathered magazines and a bulletin when I visited the mining company. Two magazines I accessed were published by the company about their project implementation in

the area, social responsibilities towards the villagers and information on cyanide. The bulletin was about Şavak culture and recent news about the tribe.

## 3.5 Ethical Aspects of the Research

Publishing an ethnographic text is a vast responsibility in representing social worlds textually. Therefore, obtaining informed consent of the participants was my priority for the fieldwork. No interviews, discussion groups, participation and even sometimes observation were conducted without taking consent of the villagers; therefore, I made my research "predictable and explicable before the research itself is carried out at all" (Atkinson 2009, 21). Consequently, I adopted a completely overt role that rendered my identity known to all participants (O'Reilly 2005, 60) ever since the first day of my stay.

Anonymity was another area of concern for me during the fieldwork. Disclosing data I generated could risk the anonymity of the participants and break their confidence (O'Reilly 2005, 64) and consequently affect the balances within the community in the village as well as my fieldwork. Although I was asked to share some of the data, I only shared the visual data I generated and some information that would not risk the anonymity of any participants. Keeping this anonymity is essential in writing this text as well as using visual data.

My access to the field was provided by Prof. Ceylan Tokluoğlu who had been to the village and become acquainted with some of its inhabitants. Being introduced to the field through this reference fused with all these aspects above to build trust among the participants. Building trust was also related to the way I recorded the data. I considered audio recording as stimulating the hierarchy between researcher and participants, which I tried to minimize in my case, as well as risking anonymity according to the participants' perspective. I tried to record the data through note-taking. When I felt an inconvenience on the participants' side while I was taking notes, I tried to memorize data instead of jotting it down at the moment of conversation. For similar reasons, I always wrote my observations and experiences in my field diary only when I was alone in my room. I therefore acknowledge that my note-taking may have had affected participants' responses in some occasions, in which case I stopped taking notes when feeling such discomforts from them. In such conditions, my overt role in the field could have compensated these disturbances.

## 3.6 Reflexive Notes from the Researcher

During this study, which first started with generating empirical data and continued by developing theoretical framework, I was conscious of it being carried out by a particular subject, a white middle class young woman who was raised in the west coast of Turkey and had never passed further east than Ankara before. All my experiences, observations and other data generated in the field, thus are construed through the lenses of a particular subject as such. However, it is also my participants' attitudes towards me that defined the nature of the study in the sense that another researcher with a different background would have received different reactions, even different answers to the same questions. Strictly speaking, the construction of this study is a result of an interaction of different subjectivities, which render the knowledge produced here as personal, private and natural. As an interpreter, I have dealt with "objectivations", any form of data or artefacts, in which the participants' subjective experiences are embodied and the facts situated in their particular settings (Schutz 1953, 2-3; Schutz 1967). The constructs I employed *ipso facto* are "the constructs of the constructs made by the actors on the social scene" (Schutz 1953, 2). Additionally, I was not present throughout the whole process of displacement; therefore, I may have generated different data and the villagers' perceptions of displacement may have been different in a different time, for instance if I had conducted this study just before the villagers were displaced. These are the reasons why I recognize the contingency of the knowledge produced during my study.

The inclusion of all my five senses throughout the study was a substantial way of experiencing life in Çöpler and I consider my own experiences as part of the primary data. In this way, I intended to preclude a naive subjectivism through getting engaged in physical practices in the village such as getting dressed according to social codes, milking cows (Picture 22), gardening, making *tandır* bread, experiencing the same problems of the village with them and doing some activities that villagers used to practice more in their old village. Jackson



Picture 22: The author milking the cow as the daily routine. Photograph by the mother of the hosting family I stayed with, 2014

(1989) coins the term "embodied experiences" which indicates that concepts do not cover the

whole complexity of a reality Accordingly, the researcher involves in these practices to escalate an empathetic understanding of others and develop "reciprocity of viewpoints" which is "experienced bodily before apprehended in the mind" through adopting the position of the other (Jackson 1983, 338).

In the beginning of my fieldwork, participants seemed doubtful of who I was and where I came from. Some had worries about me as if I was spying for the mining company. The length of my research contributed to this suspicion since I was the first person conducting research for more than two days in their village. Another factor was that, in their opinion, I looked western compared to them and automatically was associated with these foreign investors in the company. As time went on, they became keener on participating in the research as we, "in our mutual exchange of views and opinions, grow together in maturity" (Watson 1999, 9) and began to contribute to the research willingly. In the end, the level of our mutual contentment with the participants gave its place to a sentimental farewell. Then, I realized that we together have achieved an extended understanding of what it is to be human.

## 4. Theoretical Framework
### 4.1 Key Concepts
### 4.1.2 Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement

Displacement or involuntary/forced relocation of the people is simply the physical evacuation of the people from their land and confiscation of this land for different uses (Cernea 2000). DIDR is the second largest category of displacement after disaster-induced displacement (Terminski 2012). The construction of dams, the building of roads and railways, urbanization and social services, the development of agriculture, exploitation of mineral resources, conservation of nature, and population re-distribution schemes constitute the most substantial causes of development-induced displacement (Terminski 2012). It is producing roughly 15 million displacees each year in the wake of these projects (Cernea 2006, 25-7) and 5% of it is induced by mining sector (Terminski 2012).

DIDR poses risks of impoverishment to societal sustainability.[13] The risks are widely recognized by the authors, who point out different causes (Bartolome et al 2000; Cernea 1996,

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[13] I refer to the capacity to deal with routine social, economic, and environmental risks, well-articulated productive knowledge and assets, enhancing social and political institutions, the capacity for mutual self-help,

2000, 2006; Downing 2002; Oliver-Smith 2010; Terminski 2012), and by the WB. The WB's policy on involuntary resettlement encapsulates threats of displacement as:

> […] productive systems are dismantled; people face impoverishment when their productive assets or income sources are lost; people are relocated to environments where their productive skills may be less applicable and the competition for resources greater; community institutions and social networks are weakened; kin groups are dispersed; and cultural identity, traditional authority, and the potential for mutual help are diminished or lost (Paragraph 1).

Cernea operationalizes eight interconnected risks encapsulated in "Impoverishment Risk and Rehabilitation Model", which are caused by the resettlement strategy that is solely based on financial compensation: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity, food insecurity, loss of access to common property, and social disarticulation (Cernea 1996, 20-3). Similarly, Downing (2002) refers to the "resettlement effect" developed by ADB, which includes "loss of physical and non-physical assets, including homes, communities, productive land, income-earning assets and sources, subsistence, resources, cultural sites, social structures, networks and ties, cultural identity, and mutual help mechanisms" (ADB 1998, V).

Oliver Smith (2010) understands DIDR through critiquing the meaning of development and discussing contested meanings over the places, and claims that impoverishment is experienced by the people who are perceived as "impediments to development" by elites (2010, 84). Bartolome et al. (2000) acknowledge that social, economic and environmental stresses are translated into psychological, socio-cultural and ecological damages; however, they view displacement from the perspective of resettlement and rehabilitation and its "attendant complexities" and consider displacees as displaced from both their physical places and social lives (Bartolome 2000, 3-4).

Since I view displacement and resettlement as a process in which outcomes are evolving, I combine perspectives of Cernea and Bartolome et al. and understand displacement through its attendant complexities in which the outcomes are inherent and continuously being evolved.

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nurturing and constructing cultural identities, and passing the means of survival to the future generations without having the economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capitals diminished (Downing 2002, 5).

**4.1.2 Landscape**

The concept of landscape has usually been discussed either as a physical reality or as a mental construct. While the former examines it through its bio-physical units, morphological features and cultural ways that people have manipulated physical landscape (see Sauer 1996), the latter includes human perception in the analysis and sees it as a cultural representation of surroundings (see Cosgrove 1998; Lowenthal 1961). However, these two approaches do not consider people's everyday involvement with landscape. On the other hand, landscape is considered as two-fold. There is the objective landscape we initially see and the subjective landscape which is produced through local practice, which is "the meaning imputed by local people to their cultural and physical surroundings" and which we understand through ethnographic fieldwork (Hirsch 1995, 2). Through analysing subjective frame of landscape, I rely on Tim Ingold's and Christopher Tilley's conceptualizations which take everyday involvement into an account.

Ingold proposes "an alternative mode of understanding based on the premise of our engagement with the world, rather than our detachment from it" (Ingold 2000, 11). He describes landscape as "the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them" (Ingold 1993, 156). Landscape lays emphasis on "form"; it is the world of being-in (Ingold 2000, 193). He differentiates it from land, nature, space and environment to better address it. Landscape differs from the land in the sense that "land is quantitative and homogenous; the landscape is qualitative and heterogeneous" (Ingold 1993, 154). Landscape is a "plenum" of which you cannot ask how much is there, unlike land, but can ask what it is like (Ingold 1993, 154). Land is any piece of the Earth's surface. Landscape differs from nature[14] because it encounters the binary opposition between nature and man. Therefore, it is neither nature nor on the side of humanity against nature, "As the familiar domain of our dwelling, it is with us, not against us, but it is no less real for that. And through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it" (Ingold 1993, 154). The landscape is also not a space. Ingold compares everyday project of dwelling in the world with a cartographer or surveyor who represents it. He mentions that "whereas actual journeys are made through a landscape, the board on which all potential journeys may be plotted is equivalent to space"[15] (Ingold 1993, 155). Therefore,

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[14] For Ingold (2000), "the world can only be 'nature' for a being that does not inhabit it" (40).
[15] Ingold (1993) states: "In the landscape, the distance between two places, A and B, is experienced as a journey made, a bodily movement from one place to the other, and the gradually changing vistas along the route. The

landscape is reminiscent of "lived space" (Lefebvre 1991).[16] Landscape is not environment either because environment is "the world constituted in relation to the organism or person whose environment it is" (Ingold 1993, 156). Hence, environment is defined in terms of its functions as "nature organized by an organism" (Lewontin in Ingold 1993, 156).

Correspondingly, Tilley defines landscape as "perceived and embodied sets of relationships between places, a structure of human feeling, emotion, dwelling, movement and practical activity within a geographical region which may or may not possess precise topographic boundaries or limits" (Tilley 2004, 25). For Tilley, there is an ontological connotation of landscape because "it is lived in and through [body], mediated, worked on and altered, replete with cultural meaning and symbolism" and not solely an object of "contemplation, depiction, representation and aestheticization" (Tilley 1994, 26). Similar to Ingold, he states that "landscapes are experienced in practice, in life activities" (Tilley 1994 23). In epitome, landscape is a solid ground in where ongoing interaction between time, space and experiences are crystallized.

## 4.2 Cultural Identity

Although theories of globalization and modernization contributed to a discursive erasure of place, it remains essential in the lives of people "if we understand by place the experience of a particular location […] and connection to everyday life even if its identity is constructed" (Escobar 2001, 140). Given the ontological priority of place and embodied experience, "we are placelings" (Escobar 2001, 143). Tilley claims that "[p]ersonal and cultural identity is bound up with place" and "[g]eographical experience begins in places", creating landscapes for human existence (Tilley 1994, 15). Emplacement of culture is carried into places by bodies; "bodies are encultured and conversely, enact cultural practices" (Escobar 2001, 143). Therefore, I understand culture and identity by reading of place as experienced through bodies.

The lived body is the mediator of the world which is "not what I think, but what I live through" (Mearly-Ponty 1962, XVİİİ). Sense experience gained through body is "vital communication with the world which makes it present as a familiar setting in our life"

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surveyor's job, however, is to take instrumental measurements from a considerable number of locations, and to combine these data to produce a single picture which is independent of any point of observation (154-5)

[16] Lived space is directly lived and experienced by its inhabitants through its associated meanings (Lefebvre 1991, 39).

(Merleau-Ponty 1962, 61). It is the living body that constitutes our way of relating to the world; in that way "a subjective attitude comes to both know and express itself" (Tilley 1994, 14). Therefore "any perception of a thing […] refers back to the positing of a world and of a system of experience in which my body is inescapably linked with phenomena […]. I am not the spectator, I am involved." (Mearly-Ponty 1962, 354). Then, we cannot alter the way we experience the world because our "bodily Being-in-the-world provides the fundamental ground" of it (Tilley 1994, 2-4).

The place that the living body relates to is the phenomenal world which is not an "'inner world', the 'phenomenon' is not a "state of consciousness" or a 'mental fact'" (Merleau-Ponty 1962, 66). It is the "layer of living experience through which other people and things are first given to us" (Merleau-Ponty 1962, 66). It is a field of experience in where people find themselves as "already situated and involved" (Mearly-Ponty 1962, 419). Therefore, the living body is embodied in its own world; in a place which "is animated by the lived bodies that are in it, a lived place animates these same bodies as they become emplaced there" (Casey 1998, 242).

Put differently, the human being is "being-in-the-world", which entails that the world that I am in through my involvement constitutes part of me as a human being (Heidegger 1962, 78-90).  In other words, my world is a life-world in which I dwell (Gooch 1998, 305).  "I dwell" is identical to "I am" (Ingold 2000, 185). Dwelling is the realm of authentic potentiality for Dasein (there-being; existence) which "involves an openness to and acceptance of the earth and sky, the gods and our mortality" (Relph 1976, 17-8). I do not dwell because I have built (materially or metaphorically) but I build because I dwell; "*[o]nly if we are capable of dwelling, only then we build*" (Heidegger 1971, 148-60 original emphasis). It is thanks to my engagement in worldly affairs with my surroundings that I build. "It is through dwelling in a landscape, through the incorporation of its features of everyday activities, that it becomes home" to us (Ingold 1996, 96).

To recapitulate, a living body is "the vehicle of being in the world" and "to be involved in a definite environment, to identify oneself with certain projects and be continually committed to them" (Mearly-Ponty 1962, 94). The tasks that the living body, i.e. you, depend upon makes you as who you are (Ingold 2000, 325). "Places constitute bodies and, vice versa, and bodies and places constitute landscapes" (Tilley 2004, 25). Therefore, place is "an irreducible part of

human experience, a person is 'in place' just as much as she or he is 'in culture'" (Tilley 1994, 18).

## 4.3 Neighbourly Relations

Neighbours are simply people who live near each other (Abrams and Bulmer 1986, 21). The pattern of social interaction observed between the neighbours within a neighbourhood is called neighbouring (Abrams and Bulmer 1986; Keller 1968; Berry et al. 1990; Skjæveland et al. 1996). However, there is no agreement on definitions of neighbourliness in literature. Definitions are not fixed but composed according to norms and expectations of a certain context and perspective (Crow et al. 2002).

Peter H. Mann (1954) operationally distinguishes between two forms of neighbourliness: manifest and latent. The former is "characterized by overt forms of social relationships, such as mutual visiting in the home and going out for purposes of pleasure" (Mann 1954, 164). The latter means, following Mann, what Abrams and Bulmer (1986) call neighbourliness in general: "favourable attitudes to neighbours which result in positive action when a need arises, especially in times of crisis or emergency" (Mann 1954, 164).

Since the 19th century, scholars have devoted attention on modernization and its influences on social relations within groups. By his categorization of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesselschaft*, Tönnies (2001) provides a framework of social relations in two structures. *Gemeinschaft*, often translated as community, encompasses "all kinds of social co-existence that are familiar, comfortable" and uniting people from the moment of their birth with their own folk (Tönnies 2001, 18). Accordingly, the rural village belongs to an "economy which supplies all its own basic needs or supplements them with the help of neighbours and workers in the community" (Tönnies 2001, 41). A kin-tied group develops into a "community of place" which is manifested through living in proximity (Tönnies 2001, 27). The physical proximity creates the capacity of interfering with the neighbour's privacy (Allan 1989) and obtaining intimate knowledge about the neighbours (Stokoe 2006). Then community of place evolves into a "community of spirit", which is "working together for the same end and purpose" (Tönnies 2001, 27). While the community of place "hold(s) life together on a physical level", the community of spirit is "the binding link on the level of conscious thought" (Tönnies 2001, 27). "The closeness of the dwellings, the common fields, even the way the holdings run alongside each other, cause the people to meet and get used to each other and to develop

intimate acquaintance. It becomes necessary to share work, organization and forms of administration" (Tönnies, 2001, 28).

Neighbourhood ties develop friendship in community through organizing a joint existence, thereby yielding a mutual understanding (Tönnies 2001, 29-34). Lastly, "the common land is the object of its [community's] care and activity" and therefore resembles to "a single undivided household" (Tönnies 2001, 46). Neighbours of *Gemeinschaft* are reminiscent of *Mitmenschen* (consociates) concept of Schutz (1967). *Mitmenschen* are those whom we live with (Henig 2012, 14) and "people we grow old with, whose lives we participate in, whom we know intimately and in their own terms. We are entwined with them; we are able to join in their absolutely individual life story, and to that extent, we see beyond any generic designation to particularities of attitude, experience, and reaction" (Carrithers 2008, 166).

*Gesselschaft*, on the other hand, is translated as society, a multitude of separate individuals who inhabit a "foreign land" (Tönnies 2001, 63). People are not united essentially and stay detached (Tönnies 2001, 52). "Nothing happens in *Gesellschaft* that is more important for the individual's wider group than it is for himself" (Tönnies 2001, 52). People remain more independent of each other with a less intimacy compared to *Gemeinschaft* (Tönnies 2001, 63). Therefore, *Gesselschaft* consists of separate individuals who appear to work for themselves but work for society, and who appear to work for society but work for themselves (Tönnies 2001, 56-7). Tönnies discusses society in terms of occupation where individual entrepreneurs and businesses compete with each other in the national or international market. (Tönnies 2001, 64). All the natural or basic relations of *Gemeinschaft* are converted into abstraction here (Tönnies 2001, 64). Tönnies claims that "everyone is thinking of himself and trying to push his own importance and advantages at the expense of all the rest" (Tönnies 2001, 65). In *Gesselschaft*, social relations formed on the bases of relations to visible material objects take the precedence (Tönnies, 2001, 66).

Beck draws similar conclusions while addressing influences of modernity on traditional arrangements. According to him, individuals are not "obliged and forced […] into togetherness" anymore (Beck 1997, 97) and community is "dissolved in the acid bath of competition" (Beck 1992, 94). Correspondingly, Sennett indicates that increasing mobility can lead neighbours to have "weak ties to one another" (Sennett 1998, 138). Concisely, *Gesselschaft* corresponds to *Nebenmenschen* (contemporaries) of Schutz. *Nebenmenschen* are

the ones "we know as types, those whom we can recognize and treat appropriately just insofar as we properly recognize their type" (Carrithers 2008, 166). Put differently, contemporaries are the ones we merely live next to.

## 4.4 Boredom

Boredom is usually discussed in connection to the processes of modernity, individualism and leisure time (Brissett and Snow 1993; Svedsen 2008; Spacks 1995). In the micro-level analysis, it is understood in relation to either time or experiences. While some argue that it is an experience with emptiness (Goodstein 2005, 19; Raposa 1999, 60), others see it as an "alienation from the moment" (Conrad 1997, 132). Heidegger, by combining these two dimensions, sees boredom as only possible when "everything, and more fundamentally every Dasein as such, has its time" (Heidegger 1995, 127) and considers it as the mood of modernity. This entails that boredom is present when there is discordance between "the thing's own time and the time in which we encounter the thing" (Svedsen 2008, 119).

Heidegger differentiates between three forms of boredom, which are a chain of relations between "temporality of human existence" and meaning of life (Slaby 2010, 102), each leading to the next stage of profoundness progressively.

The first form of boredom is "becoming bored by" something. We find a particular situation, something or someone boring and we are able to address it. "What we address as boring we draw from the thing itself, and also mean it as belonging to this thing" (Heidegger 1995, 86). We are bored because of, for instance, the boringness of the book, and this boringness of the book "lies precisely in its relation to us, in the way in which we are affected or not affected" (Heidegger 1995, 86).

The second form of boredom is "being bored with" something. Heidegger gives an example of being invited out for an evening. We freely choose to attend to the event, and nothing that might have been boring took place during the evening; therefore, we come home satisfied. However, in retrospect, we make assessment of the evening and look ahead to the next day – then it becomes clear: "I was bored after all this evening, on the occasion of this invitation" (Heidegger 1995, 109). What was boring was not a particular thing or situation; yet, "our entire comportment and behaviour" (Heidegger 1995, 112). Here boredom becomes more profound through "letting ourselves be casually swept away and taken along by the usual

dinner party activities, by freely submitting to whatever it is that happens at the dinner, we create a peculiar emptiness in ourselves" (Slaby 2010, 110). What is boring has a character of "I know not what" (Heidegger, 1995, 114).

The last form of boredom is the "profound boredom". According to Heidegger, "the more profound it becomes, the more completely boredom is rooted in time - in the time that we ourselves are" (Heidegger 1995, 133). Here, boredom has become total, all-encompassing, and stripped off any particular situations (Slaby 2010, 112). The profound boredom unfolds itself "whenever we silently know, that it is boring for one" (Heidegger 1995, 134). Here the self is an "undifferentiated no one" (Heidegger 1995, 135), being removed from everything particular. The profound boredom is not specific to any situation and "[t]he fact that it is boring for one can occur out of the blue" (Heidegger 1995, 135). Here, we no longer react by seeking for a distraction unlike the previous forms (Stafford and Gregory 2006, 163). Rather, we understand its "overpowering nature" (Heidegger 1995, 135). Profound boredom is so overcoming of us that "we can neither struggle against nor evade it by passing the time, for we sense that it tells us something important about ourselves" (Stafford and Gregory 2006, 163). Therefore, it is out of question if we can pass the time. In this kind of boredom, one finds nothing interested to get involved in: "the beings that surround us offer us no further possibility of acting and no further possibility of our doing anything. There is a telling refusal on the part of beings as a whole with respect to these possibilities. There is a telling refusal on the part of beings for a Dasein" (Heidegger 1995, 139).

The worldly entities cease falling in the concern of Dasein. This "creates a state of 'responsiveness' in which the profoundly bored person is open, probably for the first time, to grasp basic truths about her existence" (Slaby 2010, 114). We become aware that we can exist in other ways, although we do not, as the emptiness of the world becomes conspicuous.

Svedsen (2005) claims that "possibly, women have other needs and sources of meaning than men and are therefore less affected by various cultural changes that give rise to boredom" (Svedsen 2005, 16). In some cultures, women are considered to be absorbed in domestic sphere because of their roles as mothers; their economic and political activities are constrained by their familial responsibilities (Rosaldo 1974, 24). Domestic here refers to "those minimal institutions and modes of activity that are organized around one or more mothers and their children" (Rosaldo 1974, 23). On the other hand, men have ties to public

sphere which refers to "activities, institutions, and forms of association that link, rank, organize, or subsume particular mother-child groups" (Rosaldo 1974, 23). According to this division of domestic/public domains, it is important to keep in mind that any change in these spheres is likely to affect the everyday life of women and men.

## 5. Findings

### 5.1 Ambivalence of Şavak Identity

*You take my house when you do take the prop*
*That doth sustain my house;*
*You take my life*
*When you do take the means whereby I live.*

Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice

Although this is not their first experience of displacement, Şavak tribe expressed their ambivalent feelings with regard to displacement and their new village. Şavak tribe define themselves mainly with reference to their semi-settled life stemming from the practice of transhumance and to the place they resided in, rather than whom they are descendant of. An old man stated, "It is the landscape that brings our tribe into existence. It is source of our health and livelihood. Şavak people are living the most natural life in the world. We are not merely villagers." (Picture 23)



**Picture 23: Şavak tribe in the uplands taking care of their animals. Photograph by a villager, circa 2000**

They had hitherto produced milk, cheese, and butter both for their own subsistence and for selling to the local merchants. They had built their own houses. They had produced their own

bread, own fodder for animals, own meat, and collected their own food from the fields, mountains, and orchards. They had also weaved some of their own clothes, carpets, saddlebags, and other decorative materials for their homes as well as their own beds out of sheep wool. Their dependence on the local ecosystem was not solely a source of livelihood to survive in the mountains, as this old woman worded, "There is no world for us if there is no nature in it. We strived to graze our animals in the greenest areas. This was our source of livelihood. We also used to grow plants. But these were not done only for money. It is healthier and more organic both for us and the animals. This is the culture of Şavak; we have learnt to live in this way…nested in the landscape."

For the old men, belonging to the Şavak tribe means having freedom. One of them mentioned, "We used to live independently up in the mountains. No one used to work as labourer. Everyone was working in their own job, stockbreeding, freely. We used to stand on our own feet; so we haven't migrated to be a guest worker in another city." That was one of the reasons why the *muhtar* of the village was chosen as *muhtar* of the year in 2009 in İliç.

The old men also mentioned the significance of their livelihood in referring to their culture. One interviewee said:

> This landscape used to be my livelihood and my livelihood makes me who I am. We would never go to hospital before. Our women used to give birth to nine children without seeing any doctor. While in pregnancy, they used to walk ten km with carrying another child on their back… We used to cook *saç kavurması* in the uplands, even eat the fat from the mutton and had no health problems. We were so peaceful with everything.

An old woman described Şavak tribe through her diligence rooted in their livelihood:

> Şavak people are ingenious. They are farmhand workers, honey producers and producer of country-wide reputed Erzincan *tulum* cheese. A Şavak woman knits, weaves rugs out of sheep hair, cultivates land, weaves saddlebags and carries her baby in it on her shoulder on the way to the uplands. A Şavak woman gets up very early and milks the cows and ovine. She puts her home-made yoghurt in *tuluk* and makes her own butter in the uplands. She sweats and gets exhausted.

Producing handloom carpets, cushions, tents, saddlebags, and handmade *şalvars* are seen as other symbols of the tribe. One old man in the discussion group pointed out the door of his

living room and said, "Do you see this saddlebag? It is a Şavak saddlebag. Our women used to weave these with their own labour and endeavour. They used to colour them by madder and weave these special figures on it... But now we can only use them as a decoration in our houses and we cannot produce anymore." (Picture 24)



**Picture 24: A hand loom saddlebag hanged on the door. Photograph by the author, 2014.**

The Şavak people, in our conversations on displacement, complained of not experiencing the world in the way they used to do it. Most of them agreed on saying that only the blood tie is left to them for feeling themselves as Şavak. Therefore, they consider themselves as "semi-Şavak" or "modern-Şavak". An old man said, "We do nothing that makes us feel like Şavak. We can't do transhumance, can't see animals around but when asked, I say I am from the tribe. This is strange."

The participants also mentioned that their new village was not providing them with the sense of considering themselves as Şavak tribe because they did not consider the current village as a village, except by its name. For them, village is a place where there is an opportunity to grow one's own food in fields and orchards; i.e., it offers organic food and presents a certain degree of freedom through decreasing reliance on food markets. It is portrayed as a uniting place for offering both to a ten year-old and a seventy-year-old person a possibility of being engaged in the same occupation. Houses are organized in the way that if you extend your arm out of your window, you can touch your neighbour's house, which fosters neighbourly relations and a collective life. A village, through giving the possibility of stockbreeding and agriculture, is capable of offering a healthy and tranquil life that brings you into close contact with the landscape and makes you stand on your own feet. It is epitomized to be less stressful than city life.

However, they do not identify the new village with any of these characteristics. Therefore, most of them said that they feel obliged to adapt to the new village. It was chiefly the older men and older women who complained about the village and did not consider it as a place

they dwelt in but as a temporary stop. One of the old men defined the current village in the following way, "Here looks like a holiday village. We can't produce anything here. We can't live our lives. This village is not convenient for sustaining our own occupation which is our most important culture. We are utterly labours here… We feel like living in a tourist camp or a labour camp, not in a village." An old woman also said similar things, "This village is bone-dry, no animal, no green, no sociability. Only its name is village but not itself. Or it resembles to village. We can neither call here village nor city. The houses are also distanced from each other here. Our old place was a village but here is a fake village. Because we do not work here, we are lazy now."

Another old man also mentioned, "I feel myself belonging to the old village, not this one. We grew up in that village. We earned our bread there. I loved my village; it is not easy… Now we have only cars and luxury houses here. We closed our own factory and are now working for another factory… If the mine stops my transportation service tomorrow, I am stuck. However, I could survive forever with stockbreeding."

An old woman also described her feelings by saying, "I feel like these houses are made of nylon. There is no sense of eternal belonging to this village. No animals."

The complaints of the young men and women were about social relations in the new village. A young man stated, "We see the houses as if they are hotels. Thirty years later from now we will remember things from our old village but not from here. Our village is still the old one." A young woman similarly said, "I don't identify myself with this village. Our village, our lives, and people are changed. Mentalities here are very different." Another young woman also said, "I don't feel belonging here. I grew up in the old village. When I dream in my sleep, it is always about the old village. I have never dreamed about here yet."

Most of the Şavak people agreed on their lost sense of place during the discussions. They do perceive their new environment differently from their old village. When they assess both their losses and gains, most of them come to the conclusion that can be represented by the words of this old woman, "My husband was going to build our own house as luxury and big as this one. We could afford this. However, the mine told us it was to no end because we were going to be displaced. It is not the house which you belong to. It is the life and the land that your house is

built on. It is the village that you belong to. Here we only have houses. We have no life, no land, and no animals."

## 5.2 Neighbourly Relations

The sanctity of having neighbours, *komşu*, around one's living place is reverberated through numerous proverbs in the culture of Turkey. *Komşu* is essential for the functioning of the everyday sociality and conceived as having existential effects exposing to people in the next-doors. Çöpler villagers had experienced close neighbourly relations which were frequently entwined in the way they related to landscape before displacement.

### 5.1.2 "Even in the smallest of matters one neighbour can help another": Relations before the mine

The neighbourly relation, *komşuluk*, was the first thing that the villagers mentioned while talking about the pre-displacement period. Almost all of them mentioned that the old village was chosen as a leading village in terms of *komşuluk* among 58 villages in İliç.

They mentioned their livelihood was tough due to formidable mountainous conditions across four seasons, yet experienced delight through handling this toughness as *komşus* together. A young man voiced, "You cannot live alone in the mountain. There is need for others." Stockbreeding required animals to be milked twice a day and grazed every day, the milk to be processed and *kom* to be cleaned daily. An old man said:



**Picture 25: Three women in the uplands while taking a break from milking the sheep together. Photograph by a Çöpler villager, circa 2000**

Transhumance requires good *komşuluk*. There is nothing in the mountain; only the nature and animals. Our job, stockbreeding, was a family job [...] But you still need more people to take care of them. Each two or three families migrated to the same upland when it was time for transhumance. We used to gather our animals in one herd and migrate to the uplands together with the *komşus*. We used to do everything together there (Picture 25).

In the beginning of June, the villagers had an annual festival of sheep shearing in the uplands. Each family used to shear their own sheep in a few days, yet the lambs were sheared together in one day because lamb wool is fresher, cleaner, and worth more than sheep wool. The lambs were attentively sheared one by one with around ten *komşus*. Then, the women used to prepare *saç kavurması* for the dinner for all *komşus* in the upland. As an old man uttered "performing this routine together with *komşus* both eases your work and makes it more enjoyable."



**Picture 26: Women in the old village while sewing a duvet for a young woman in the village who is preparing to get married. Photograph excerpted by the author from a video taken by a Çöpler villager, 2003**

Women usually spoke of a spontaneous cooperation among each other while producing *tandır* bread as this old woman noted, "When we [the women] saw a woman making *tandır* bread, we immediately put on our *şalvars* and help her." The old women also mentioned how they used to help each other in weaving socks, duvet, *cacim*, saddlebags, and rugs out of the animals' wool. (Picture 26)

In the springtime, cardoons, asphodels and meadow mushrooms (Picture 27) grow in the Munzur Mountains and were the prevalent foods of dinners in springs. A young woman mentioned, "Together with some women, we used to go up to the mountains to collect cardoons, asphodels and meadow mushrooms together. It was good for exercise, having fun with women to women and



**Picture 27: Meadow mushrooms. Photograph by a Çöpler villager, circa 2000**

helping *komşus* in collecting them. Then, we used to share what we had collected."

It was the same when women spent time in vineyards for collecting vine leaves together. Then, they helped each other for cooking *sarma*. The young women in particular used to help elder *komşus* collect fruit from orchards and assist with cultivating the fields and harvesting. For this, they were given small share of the produce. Accordingly, "*komşuluk* was nourished by our life styles, by stockbreeding, by our village… I mean our lives" said an old man.

The houses in the old village were so proximate to each other that "visiting a *komşu* required descending only few stairs in a ladder" as an old woman mentioned. Most women and men told me that proximity of the houses made spending time together and being informed about each other easier.

I met a woman who used to be the midwife of all the villagers' children and told me that all children that I met in the village who are above age 8 were born with her help. She continued, "The first interference would come from your *komşu* in case of illness. The first *tarhana* would come from the *komşu* [...] because you could immediately hear when someone was in trouble or sick."



**Picture 28: Men in discussing together an issue about the village. Photograph excerpted by the author from a video taken by a Çöpler villager, 2003.**

There was a symbolically important rock named by the villagers as *ağacın taşı* which literally means rock of the tree. The young women and men used it as a place to socialize with each other. The young men also called it *sorrow hill*. A young man said, "If I loved a girl but could not tell her, only my peer *komşus* and sorrow hill would know this." The young women also used to spend their afternoons for having tea and snacks at *ağacın taşı*.

Almost all the old men of the village mentioned to me that they created their own sewage and enabled a water supply for the village together with *komşus* (Picture 28). In the first day of my fieldwork, there was a problem in the water-supply system of the new village and two men

were trying to sort it out on the street. One of them shouted to me, "Write this as well in your study! If we were in the previous village, this would be sorted out in ten minutes with the help of the *komşus*! But here no one cares!"

### 5.1.3 "Bad neighbour makes you an owner": Relations after the mine

One day, a bazaar was set up in the village. The women of my host family and I went to the bazaar. These women wanted to buy some clothes and pay next time, as they usually did. However, the seller needed money and wanted them to pay that day. I was not expecting this when they asked me to borrow some money, after having known me only for a month, rather than their *komşus*. However, they were hardly considering themselves as *komşus* while talking about displacement and their new village. This was evident in decrease of use of the word *komşu* in the after-mine period, as one of them said, "As if *komşuluk* is being forgotten in the very old village."



**Picture 29: An outlook from a usual day in the new village. No one is outside; everyone is at home. Photograph by the author, 2014**

In our conversations about *komşuluk*, many villagers mentioned how competitive people became, especially after sub-companies were established. The occupational *komşuluk* was said to be replaced by occupational competition, which means that *komşuluk* emerges between people who have self-interest in that relationship in terms of the mining company. During my stay in the village, I did not observe a *komşuluk* that was mentioned when speaking about the old village (Picture 29). Families who are affiliated with the same sub-company usually spend

more time together. An old man stated, "There is rivalry because of the sub-companies. One company wins tender from the mine and others become jealous of it. This causes a showdown between us." This has reinforced polarization of certain family groups within the Şavak tribe who had problems back in Tunceli before migrating to Erzincan. However, almost all the villagers claim that the responsible party for this competition is the mining company. It is claimed to economically prioritize certain families supporting the company. An old man mentioned, "There was always a kind of competition between us in terms of well-being of our sheep, but this was not a dangerous competition as present. On the contrary, it was motivating us for better taking care of our animals. But now everyone wants more money and trying to supplant each other. The morals of *komşuluk* have changed."

The change in the morality was usually attributed to a change in occupation and increase in economic well-being due to compensation provided by the company. Most of the villagers claimed that they do not need other as much as in the old village while doing stockbreeding.

One day, a young woman and I planned to travel to Erzincan and wanted to ask a *komşu* to take us to the train station. However, we ended up calling a taxi because the young woman and her mother felt hesitant to ask this favour to someone in the village. The mother complained, "They will say 'you have a car as well, why don't you ask someone in your family?' It is better to pay but not to plead."

Women do not work in either the company or in the sub-companies but they are influenced by what happens between the husbands. A young woman said, "Self-interest in the men's relations is projected to their wives. They tell their wives to keep away from certain people. That is why women can sulk to each other because of their husbands." Many women indicated that they have fallen out with their lovely *komşus* with whom they were quite close before. An old woman said, "*Komşus* who had eaten bread in my dining table do not even say hello to me now." A young woman also pointed out, "We lost our *komşuluk*, our morality… because we replaced them with the ambition of earning money. People sell out their humanity for the sake of their benefits."

The villagers also compared life in the new village to a city life. The women frequently referred to remoteness of the houses and emergence of privacy. A young woman said:

The houses are drifted apart from each other with high walls and long distances. We have an urban life style. Now we cannot go to each other's house without making an appointment [...] you cannot visit your *komşu* before ten o'clock and are expected to knock on the door before walking in. In the old village we used to directly walk into the *komşu* houses when we wanted to. We have left *komşuluk* in the old village, rest in peace… (Picture 30)

Besides that, most of the participants complained of not finding an excuse to visit a *komşu*.



**Picture 30: Distance of the houses and the walls in front of the houses. Photograph by the author, 2014**

The increased mobility of the men as a result of more private cars and formal job opportunities outside of the village is another reason for the decrease of *komşuluk* among the men. Young men, usually employed by the mining company, are shift workers so that they hardly see each other in the village. A young man said, "We can hardly see each other in *kahvehane* in İliç, not in the village." An old man also mentioned, "If someone dies, we hear after a week. Even we cannot notice if we are in the Eid[17] due to lack of *komşu* visits."

The villagers blame each other for personally changing during the process of displacement. This was also noticed by their kin groups in Sabırlı village and artisans in İliç. An owner of a grocery store in İliç told me that expensive cigarette brands are called "Çöpler cigarettes" because since displacement, they switched from smoking the cheapest brands to the most

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[17] Eid is a term used for religious fests in Islam. In Turkey, Eid is celebrated by visiting elderly relatives and *komşus*.

expensive ones. An owner of a local clothing shop in İliç also complained that the villagers dislike his products since displacement and said, "They want to get dressed from expensive brands and show off these brands." On one of the days I spent time with the men in İliç, a tea vendor asked them to pay their debts and one of these men said, "Are you chewing the rag only for 12.5 liras? Here is more than you want" and showed some money in his hand. When I interviewed the tea vendor later, he told me that his friends from the village turned out to be bosses. Sabırlı villagers also blamed them for no longer greeting the people who are economically lower than them.



**Picture 31: A living room of a house in the new village. Photograph by the author 2014**

The villagers voiced similar complaints. An old man told me, "Some people think they are rich but they buy many things on credits and portray themselves as if they are rich. These people who used to visit me three times a week, now even don't see me." A young man also mentioned, "When they buy new brand shoes, they make exaggerated moves by their feet to make us notice those expensive shoes."

The women are dispraised for being parvenu. Villagers spoke of an implicit competition between the women in terms of exaggerating the use of furniture and decoration (Pictures 31 and 32). During my fieldwork, I walked into almost all houses in the village and realized that all furniture looked very similar. Later I was informed that it was purchased from the same shop, interestingly. A young



**Picture 32: A picture of how a living room looked like in the old village. Photograph by the author, 2014.**

woman told me, "There are even some women who are trying to match the colour of their slippers to their furniture and they think this builds a status for them." An old man told that he did not like this exaggeratedly fancy furniture and explained that his wife wanted to buy them because she did not want to be outdone by the other women. A group of women in the village called these women missuses who consider themselves so prestigious through the power of having fancy furniture that they do not deign to visit *komşus*.

A young man made an analogy about new *komşuluk*:

> As you visit you become a family, as you don't you become a stranger. We were fish in the pool but now we are in a river. We don't see each other in the village. Worst of all, we can't find any reason to visit any *komşu*. We don't have *ağacın taşı* here but we could replace it with something else. Actually this was in our hands but we are changed. This village doesn't let us experience a nice *komşuluk*, that's why we miss our old *komşuluk*.

## 5.3 To Want without Desires: Boredom of the Women

*I feel like a mere void, the illusion of a soul, the locus of a being, a conscious darkness where a strange insect vainly seeks at least the warm memory of a light*

Fernando Pessoa 2002, 365

The women used to spend all of their time in the old village unless they needed to shop, see a doctor or visit relatives living in other places. This has not changed in the new village but the women feel a deep sense of boredom.

Almost all the women told me that the old village was an eventful place and they felt themselves involved in daily activities. They were routinely engaged in farming, beekeeping, and gardening and were busy with the animals. Moreover, they had been producing handicrafts and gathering herbs from the mountains. When they had spare time left from the daily routines, they used to spend it in *ağacın taşı* or under the huge apple tree. An old woman said, "Before I had more workload but I was very happy with it. I used to wake up at five in the morning and go to *kom* for milking the animals. Then I used to graze them and collect firewood for heating my stove. Then I would realize that it was already evening." Another old woman said, "I spent my summers on working in the old village. There were fields, plants there. We used to produce what we eat. That's why I was always busy." A young woman also

stated, "I used to spend my time outside and I don't remember myself feeling bored in the old village. You could always find something to do that you could enjoy. If there is nothing, I used to spend time picnicking in gardens, chilling out in *ağacın taşı…* At least when you went out, you could watch other people outside and spend time with them."

The fact that they were bored was interesting for me since I found many things to do in the village from my perspective, although I acknowledge that the current village is not very eventful. One can get busy with gardening, feed cattle in the backyard, and do some planting in the village, and so on. However, for the women, there is literally nothing to do in the village and during my stay I observed that the women spent their whole day at home watching television or cleaning. I could observe only one woman who thought that she was not bored and still continued more or less the same practices she used to do in the old village, such as beekeeping. When I was in the village there were only few women who fed cattle in their backyards and stayed busy with producing dairy products for subsistence.



Picture 33: A garden of a family. Photograph by the author, 2014

An old woman said, "I spend my days like a bird in a cage. There is nothing I can get engaged with. Only cleaning and cooking. We are women of orchards, animals, gardens. Now I feel bored here." Another woman said, "Days don't pass here. It is not possible to feed even chicken here. I used to be occupied. I can't only sit in these luxury houses now. I wake up early every day and go to balcony but I never see anyone outside. Then, I prepare breakfast and sit again. It is not possible not to get bored here." When I offered her some possibilities of activity in the village, she answered, "What will happen if I do gardening? It is not just about this," but could not word her boredom clearly. A young woman said, "I am happy with these conditions in the village because everything is new but I don't feel happy with my life here. My life back in the old village was better."

During my stay, I rarely saw women working in their garden (Picture 33). When I helped a woman with the gardening, we cleared a lot of rocks from the soil as well as concrete remaining from the construction of the houses. She told me that she has been clearing them since they were resettled in this village. Many of the women stated their low expectations from the garden for similar reasons but few of them considered importing additional soil and fertilizer as a solution. Some who had imported fertilizer were still indifferent with gardening which was a daily activity in the old village.

A young woman said, "I feel imprisoned here… monotonous... We are not allowed to go out alone; our mothers warn us because they are afraid of these constructions. Last year two cows died on the railway. There is nothing to do here. I get always bored. The soil is not fertile. We try to keep ourselves busy with gardening but things don't grow as well as in the old village."

In the discussion group an old woman complained about the impossibility of enjoying the village:

> Some enjoy these houses because they didn't own a house in the old village but all of us are discontented with lack of occupation in this village. We wish we could be productive here and don't sit in the houses idly. There is no plant to pick because we are surrounded by construction on our four sides. There is no meadow that we can do stockbreeding. There is no wool from the sheep to weave things [...] there is no future for the women here. Men work and we wait them at homes.

It is not in accordance with local customs for the women to work in formal jobs. However, many families are more flexible about it and the mine is blamed for not recruiting women and held responsible for this boredom. An old woman said, "The mine behaved unjustly towards us. The elderly can't work; they need things to do in the village but there is nothing here. Women were very happy and independent before."

The women told me that they tried to find solutions to their boredom through different activities. Once, the mine organized Quran classes for a while in the village to which the women were attracted and attended regularly. Then, it organized computer classes, which was seen as pointless by the women because they expected to be recruited by the mine in the end. After that, the women themselves organized gatherings every month in one house, but after a while it spontaneously ended as well. A young woman said, "These activities did not satisfy

me because there is no point in living in this village." Another old woman complained, "We are supposed to sit at home whole day in this village."

Most of the women told me that they had expected the mining company to solve this problem but now they expect nothing. An old woman said, "Seeing that the mine constructed a new village for me, if it put me in this village and took all my life, I expected different things. But we are thrown into these houses. We sit in the houses pensively. Now what can the mine give me back? It took my spiritual values from me. I expected them to realize this and act accordingly but now I do not expect anything."

## 6. Discussion

Landscape had been the ground where life was crystallized for Çöpler villagers since they used to be socially and ecologically embedded in the local ecosystem in which they dwelled. This life provided them with a particular way of being-in-the-world. However, mine operations changing this landscape and the eventual displacement of the villagers caused a loss of this landscape, i.e. a loss in both material and non-material values. This led to a new form of being-in-the-world or no longer being-in-the-world. The way the villagers encountered the world changed in the process of displacement, which created certain experiences evolving continuously. Absence of the landscape, of which they had identified themselves as a part, triggered a change in the lifestyle and practices of the community and thereby eradicated the significant elements, such as cheese, animals, and transhumance, which are symbolically important for the construction of Şavak identity. However, these were the elements not only for constructing Şavak identity but also through which the *komşuluk* was established. This has further reinforced the erosion of cultural identity. Landscape, which was the home for the women where they constructed their identity and experienced *komşuluk*, has shrunk and become composed of only a house where they can no longer do both. This, in turn, generated boredom among the women.

Şavak culture and construction of Şavak identity were exposed to severe disruptions as a result of displacement process. Since the way the body experiences the phenomenal world is a crucial factor for constructing one's identity and the way Şavak people experience the outside world has significantly changed throughout displacement, the villagers started to become aware of the *post facto* ambivalence corresponding to cultural identity. Erstwhile possibilities such as stockbreeding and transhumance, offered by the surrounding landscape to Şavak

people and experienced by the tribe in particular ways, played a key role for villagers to identify themselves as Şavak tribe. However, these people no longer portray themselves as belonging to Şavak culture as a consequence of changes to these landscape-related experiences.

In other words, the sense experience of the villagers, which was gained through communicating the landscape they resided in, was point of reference for them to consider themselves as members of Şavak tribe. The way they defined their identity was predominantly based on the way they lived through the landscape rather than their blood ties with the tribe. Their Bodily-being-in-the-world, i.e. dwelling in the landscape, had constituted a particular way of experiencing that landscape. Stockbreeding, transhumance and the village are some examples of the experiencing landscape. As such, the landscape generated a layer of experience in which Şavak people found themselves situated. Therefore, their involvement in the landscape through living in the village and engaging in daily activities, stockbreeding and transhumance carved out part of the tribe. Displacement and changes to the landscape did not only dislocate the tribe physically but also altered the point of reference on which Şavak people construct their cultural identity, i.e. landscape. It was by dwelling in a certain landscape and in that kind of village and by integrating the landscape and the village's features in the everyday life practices that this environment became home to and part of Şavak tribe. Hence, the pastoral activities experienced by the tribe made them who they are.

Erosion of identity and culture is found to be a prevalent result of displacement and resettlement processes (Aronsson 2002; Downing 2002). Impoverishment of culture and identity is usually taken into an account with loss of sense of home. Similarly, in this case, the tribe is in an ambivalent situation[18] in terms of cultural identity after displacement as a result of their detachment from previous experiences embedded into landscape. The world they live in changed and the way they experience the world changed concurrently. They neither engage in practices through which they identify themselves as Şavak tribe such as transhumance and stockbreeding nor identify themselves as belonging to the place they live in, i.e., their new village. In short, displacement changed what they used to live through in the world.

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[18] The other reason contributing to this ambivalent situation is that ties between Çöpler Village and its kin village Sabırlı have weakened, after becoming rival groups as mentioned earlier. Metaphorically speaking, Sabırlı Village has abandoned Çöpler Village in a point which makes the members of Şavak tribe in Çöpler Village more vulnerable to this ambivalent situation.

Since displacement Çöpler villagers have been shuttling between the tunes of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* in terms of neighbourly relations of which they were proud before displacement. As Ingold mentions, hunter-gatherers get to know the forest and plants that dwell therein in the same way that they become familiar to each other (Ingold 2000, 47). Similarly, Çöpler villagers used to have a community life in the old village where they were united with each other from the beginning in the same way they were united with the local ecosystem of the landscape. Neighbourly relations were founded on the ground of the people's experiences with the landscape. Put differently, neighbourly relations constituted one way of experiencing the landscape. Neighbour was not only the person living next door but the person with whom you shared your burdens of occupation and life. In addition to proximity factor, neighbour was the one with whom you experienced livelihood and daily activities in collaboration and developed friendship as they shared experiencing the landscape. It was the landscape that was experienced by the villagers in a particular way – in connection with occupation - that made neighbourly relations so vital and strong in the old village. Therefore, it was the landscape that made the villagers a community. Concisely, neighbourly relations were dependent on and emergent from the relations of villagers to the landscape. This included both manifest and latent form of neighbourliness in the sense that having good intentions for your neighbour meant having good intentions for yourself because you were connected to your neighbour, as you shared life and lived towards the similar aims.

However, displacement led the villagers experience a dramatic change in their neighbourly relations. Changing landscape brought along different ways of experiencing it which affected neighbourly relations as well. It was the livelihood and daily activities on which neighbourly relations were constructed. Changing livelihood and daily activities because of a change to the landscape led to a decline in latent neighbourliness in the sense that positive attitudes towards neighbours and collaboration gave its place to a competition between them. Before displacement, livelihood in the landscape necessitated collaboration and strong ties within the community both economically and socially. While they had been collaboratively experiencing the activities in the landscape before displacement, they now competitively try to take advantage of the mine. Community of spirit that was like a single household began to evolve into a society where individual interests are more important. Therefore, neighbourly relations began to group people according to individual interests rather than encompassing all of the people through occupational collaboration and friendship.

Social disarticulation is found to be one of the results of displacement of indigenous, tribal and rural communities which are not highly dependent on money (Terminski 2012). Losing neighbourhood ties and barter within the community can both increase economic insecurity and disintegrate community ties (Terminski 2012). In this case, losing neighbourly relations did not bring economic insecurity since the villagers are employed in the mining or their own companies. However, the new livelihood is an individual non-collaborative occupation, which thereby brought about community disintegration and prioritized individual interests rather than collective interests among the villagers.

Finally, displacement caused the women to be caught in boredom. Boredom is experienced only by the women of the village, which is related to shrinking of domestic sphere. Domestic sphere, which used to include the whole landscape before, now corresponds merely to homes in the new village. Thus, the area of activities for the women has shrunk and some of the possible activities in the new village seem meaningless to the women. The luxury furniture and houses did not prevent or take away their boredom. At the same time, public sphere has enlarged in the sense that the men gradually began to have more possibilities of occupation and gathering places outside of the village as the town developed together with the mine. Hence, while men could keep busy and find meaning in different activities, women started to not find any meanings in what was left to them in the new village.[19]

The new hierarchical structure between the men has also projected onto the relations of the women. Money and status have started to play a key role in *komşuluk* between the women. Although women miss their old tasks, fancy furniture, and cleaning overweighs in a point that women do *komşuluk* with the people whom they see as equivalent to themselves because furniture and cleaning are seen as signs of high status unlike gardening.[20] This is the other dimension of boredom among the women.

The women in the village do not clearly state a reason for their boredom, although their state of boredom started with the process of displacement. It is neither the village nor the houses

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[19] Before displacement, it was the women who were busier than men. It was the women who mostly took care of the animals early in the morning, cleaned the *kom*, worked in the fields, took care of the children, and did the household chores at the same time. The men were more active in transhumance. However, it has become reversed in the sense that men are busier now.

[20] Furthermore, diminishing of reasons to go out; such as gardening, stockbreeding, neighbouring or having fun in ağacın taşı, has transformed the women's relation with the world outside of their houses. Thereby, this can be seen as leading to emergence of a new structure through which men exert control upon the women.

that they find particularly boring. Their boredom is too profound to attribute to certain reasons. It is also not a particular action or a specific time that they later find boring and meaningless. Their state of boredom is so encompassing that they constantly feel that they live in this bored state. In other words, their boredom gradually developed in the process of displacement and become profound over time. They endeavoured to overcome boredom; however, they are conquered by it now.

It is possible to consider the women's boredom similar to profound boredom. Many participants described their boredom as something not unique to themselves. They felt that anyone could be in the same state of boredom regardless of particular characteristics. They do not seek distraction or struggle to overcome this boredom anymore as they once did. Not a particular object, not a particular moment, but the whole of life itself is boring for them. They find nothing interesting or meaningful to do in their lives. Here gardening or keeping few cattle to produce dairy products is some of the examples. They no longer find these meaningful, although it is still possible to do these activities in the new village. The world offers no possibility of acting to them. Beings have stopped falling in the scope of Dasein. To illustrate, gardening is not meaningful to practice anymore in a place where they do not share with the neighbours and where they do not feel themselves belonging to. They do not have meaningful dealings and engagements with the world anymore because of this state of boredom. This made them realize that there could be another way of being-in-the-world, or living in this village or living in the world.

The boredom experienced by Çöpler women is a global concern. In his book about socio-cultural change in French Polynesia, human ecologist Thomas Malm argues that one of the effects of the transition from a traditional subsistence economy to a modernized society has become what he calls a "cultural void". He argues that before the arrival of Westerners, the Polynesians had had a number of activities to keep themselves busy and give meaning to their daily life, but rapidly deprived of many of these, without the activities being replaced by anything that filled their time in an equally meaningful way, they became bored. He suggests that what we need, in order to understand this process and its consequences, including life in modern housing subsidized by the neo-colonial government, is "anthropology of boredom" (Malm 2003, 141-150). He compares the situation in French Polynesia and other Pacific islands with the well-known boredom perceived by Native Americans in reservations, where alcoholism and suicide are very common problems, and with the void often perceived by

people in Swedish society who have retired from work but found themselves left with nothing meaningful to do. Thus, Çöpler villagers are experiencing boredom - a phenomenon of global concern - which each displacee can encounter in any part of the world.

## 7. Conclusion

This study highlights matters related to development-induced displacement and resettlement, and social construction of and attachment to landscape from a human ecology perspective. It demonstrates the consciousness that rural communities develop and sustain an intricate web of relationships with an attachment to the landscape within which they subsist. Thereby, they identify themselves as a part of the social, cultural and environmental system. It shows how attachment to landscape and subsequently absence of it can render the communities socially and culturally vulnerable to external stresses. As argued, landscape is not merely a material thing for the study community; it is rather a process whereby they derive their existence. Therefore, changes to it and the way the people relate to it erased elements that have cultural significance for construction of the Şavak identity and moral connotations by which neighbourly relations are set up, which in turn created boredom for the women.

Based on the findings of the study, it is possible to argue that compensation which increases economic and material welfare of the displacees is not always perceived as sufficient by them for achieving satisfaction in their new lives. In the case of Çöpler Village, although positive aspects of displacement have been highly recognized by the community and provided a satisfaction at a certain level, uncompensated symbolic and cultural assets such as landscape overweighed the joys of economic and material gains of displacement after a while. However, while the material and economic compensation is not enough to compensate the loss of the landscape that the communities are attached to, this study also appears to indicate that people can be willing to be evicted from their culturally significant landscape if the economic and material compensation is enough from their perspective. Hence, it is possible to argue that "people may be cultural animals but they are also economic beings" (Abuya 2013, 15). This contradiction should be realized and it opens up a new possibility of research within the topic.

In order to minimize the vulnerability of the displacees, the research on displacement should take into account the narratives of the affected communities instead of merely looking at the issue from an institutional perspective and in terms of policies. The companies or states that plan displacement of communities should also incorporate ethnographic inquiries about

displacement into their compensation plans for evoking higher satisfaction in terms of non-material meanings. Ethnographic research provides a better stand to capture these meanings and provides a tool for minimizing impoverishment risks by uncovering the narratives of the affected communities.

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**Appendix: Interview Questions**

1.      Surname, Name: (not mandatory and anonymous)

2.      Gender:

3.      Age:

4.      Ethnicity (how do you define yourself):

5.      Current job:

6.      How many people are you living in the house? Who are they?

7.      Can you tell about your home now? (Furniture, size, garden, yard, farm, barn, internet, heating system etc.)

8.      Can you tell about your properties? (Car, house, land, tractor, horse-drawn carriage, etc.)

9.      How are you spending your one day here?

10.     What do you like most about being here? What do not you like most about being here?

11.     Previous job:

12.     Previous Income:

13.     How many people were you living in your house in the old village? Who were they?

14.     How long have you lived in the previous village? Were you born there or did you move there? Explain please.

15.     Can you tell about your old home in the old village? (Furniture, size, garden, yard, farm, barn, heating system etc.)

16.     Can you tell about your previous properties? (Car, house, land, tractor, horse-drawn carriage, etc.)

17.     How were you spending your one day in the old village?

18.     What do you miss most from your previous home place?

19.     How do you see your new village now? Can you feel yourself attached to this village? Explain the reasons, please.

20.     What kind of relationship you had with your environment in the old village? Do you maintain the same here? Explain, please.

21.     What do you think needs to get improved in the village and why?

22.     Do you feel your environment and İliç is being environmentally changed by the mining?

23.     Do you think that new conditions changed you as a person? Explain, please.

24.     Do you observe a change in social relations of the villagers throughout displacement? Explain, please.

25.     Do you feel any injustice done by the company?

26.     Do you sense a change in your relationships with the neighbour villages? Do you observe a change in their behaviour to you starting with the displacement?

27.     Do you feel any change in people's point of view about the village in this region?

28.     Are you having problems with the newcomers in the village?

29.     How do you define your culture and tradition? What were you used to do in the old village in terms of these? (Marriage ceremonies, periodical gatherings, religious ceremonies, activities done in the environment, clothing styles etc.)

30.     Is it possible to maintain the same tradition here? Or is it necessary to maintain the same here? Or do you find it meaningless now to continue these traditions in this new village?

31.     If you observe a change in your culture, are you happy with this? Why or why not?

32.     Are you satisfied with what the company has provided you? (compensations)

33.     Do you think the company could replace everything and have compensated you enough? Do you think the company could replace everything? Explain, please.

34.     What kind of positive things did the mine contribute to the village?

35.     What kind of negative things did the mine contribute to the village?

36.     Do you have any expectations from the company?

37.     How do you see the fact that you are displaced?

38.     What was your initial reaction and feelings when you first heard that? How were you convinced to get displaced?

39.     Are you happy with your decision?

40.     Did the company have meetings with the village people to discuss the issue? Can you tell about these meetings? Do you think your ideas were taken serious by the company?

41.     Why do you think you are displaced? Why not other villages? Do you think if there are other reasons or contributors apart from the mine?